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men. The maguey does not flourish at this low altitude; therefore *pulque* (anciently *octli*) must be imported, and its use is confined largely to festal occasions.

The ancient male costume of the Aztecs, although modified according to the social position of the wearer, was composed of three principal garments: the *maxtlatl*, a belt or loincloth with the ends hanging down in front like an apron; the *tilmahtli*, a woven cape worn over the shoulders and knotted in front; and the *cactli*, sandals of leather or woven of maguey fiber. Of these three the first has entirely disappeared,[1] the second influenced the form and use of the modern *zarape*, while the third remains little changed today. For all articles of men's clothing worn today in Tepoztlán, Nahuatl terms are in use. The ancient term *tilmahtl* is applied to the *zarape*, and the sandals are still called *cactli* or *cuitlax-cactli* ("leather sandals"). The other terms are descriptive compositions, or are Spanish roots modified to suit Nahuatl linguistic patterns.

A man wears one or more shirts (S. *camisa;* N. *cotontli*) and over these, when the weather is colder or for better dress, a blouse (S. *blusa;* N. *panicotontli*). These, like the trousers, are made of cheap white cotton cloth bought in the local stores and are made up by the women. The blouse is buttonless; the lower ends tie together in front. For holiday attire the shirt may be pink or blue, or a colored vest (S. *chaleco*)

[1] It may possibly be worn by some in Tepoztlán, as it still is elsewhere in Mexico (*ibid.*, p. 121).

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may be added. Loose white trousers (S. *calzones*; N. *cahzon*) of the same material are worn. These are wide at the waist; the sides are crossed in front and the trousers are held up by a cloth belt or sash (S. *faja* or *ceñidor*; N. *teilpiloni*). A man often goes barefoot. The sandals are of the ancient pattern except that steer leather is used. A woman does not wear sandals except when traveling. The straw hat (S. *sombrero*; N. *cuatlayecahuilotl*), worn almost everywhere in Mexico, is of course of Spanish origin. A few styles are "correct" in Tepoztlán.

It remains to mention the *zarape*. Ramon Mena[1] derives the word from Nahuatl *tzalanpepechtli* (*tzalan*, "interwoven," and *pepechtli*, "thick blanket"), a descriptive term applied by the Indians to the heavy blankets, often woven in with metal threads, carried by the conquerors and placed by them upon the ground when resting or sleeping. This blanket and the *tilmahtli* fused, culturally, and became the *zarape*. In Tepoztlán two forms are worn: the blanket form, wrapped around the shoulders and held together with one arm, and the *poncho* form,[2] in which the head passes through an opening in the center. The *zarape* is entirely masculine, but on unusually cold days a woman may borrow a *zarape* and wear it beneath her *rebozo*.

The *machete* (N. *tlateconi* or *tepoztlateconi*), the characteristic Mexican steel knife with the curved tip, is

[1] Ramon Mena, "El Zarape," *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqeología, Historia y Etnografía* (época 5ª), I, No. 4 (Sept.–Oct., 1925), 373 ff.

[2] This *poncho* is probably South American in origin.

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Tepoztlán. Almost invariably there are earrings, often of gold (S. *aretes;* N. *areteztin*), and a short string of beads, most commonly red seeds (N. *corales;* N. *coralеztin*). Except when walking long distances, when sandals may be worn, or when in city dress, which includes shoes, the feet are bare. The only overgarment is the *rebozo* (N. *payo*), a sort of shawl worn over the head and upper body; one end is drawn across the breast and thrown back over the left shoulder. This is the characteristically Mexican garment worn almost everywhere and by every class except the highest. The *rebozo*, like the *zarape*, is a post-Conquest development, but unlike the *zarape* it has no Indian progenitor. It probably represents a cheaper and more practical modification of the Spanish *mantilla* by the working Indian woman; and it had already taken its form by the end of the sixteenth century.[1]

Many women possess, for Sunday costume, a one-piece dress of finer material. This is nearly always white, with a flounced skirt, and ornamented with pink or blue ribbons.

No woman ever wears a hat except when a man's hat is worn for work in the fields or traveling in the sun. When sitting in the sun a woman may wind the *rebozo* on her head like a turban, but the real turban headdress frequently found in Southern Mexico is absent. The hair is worn in two braids, or, particularly by girls and young women, in a single braid. No cos-

[1] José de J. Nuñez y Dominguez, *El rebozo*. Mexico: Departamento Editorial de la Dirección General de las Bellas Artes, 1917.

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the imported traits found in Tepoztlán have entered into this general culture. Some traits of material culture occur in Tepoztlán, particularly in houses near the central *plaza*, which are not a part of the general culture. Though perfectly familiar, they are possessed only by individuals more used to modern city customs, and are regarded by the majority of the population as exterior to the common life. Features such as these have not entered into the culture because too expensive (brick floors; iron grilles) or because their general acceptance would involve radical changes in existing techniques (the fork). There is, therefore, a classification which corresponds with subjective categories, between the integrated Tepoztecan culture, on the one hand, and secondary, exterior elements, on the other. These exterior elements are thought of as attributes of city life, that is, of modern industrial civilization. They are brought down to Tepoztlán by people used to city ways. When a Tepoztecan goes to the city he to a certain extent temporarily assumes the material culture of the metropolis. He has, not infrequently, a separate costume for city wear: dark trousers, a dark hat, and shoes, worn only on visits to the city. This simple fact expresses the nature of the community of Tepoztlán: no longer a primitive tribal society nor yet an urbanized community, it must nevertheless be defined, as it tends to define itself, with reference to the world-wide city culture within which it is now included.

The following table lists some features of the ma-

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merchants of Tepoztlán and of the satellite villages there come regularly textile sellers from Mexico City and pottery vendors from Cuernavaca, as well as occasional wandering merchants from other and more distant towns.[1] The market day is also a news day.

The importance of Sunday probably varies directly in proportion to the degree to which the individual has taken on city ways. It is not an Indian institution, and in busy season at least *los tontos* do not observe it as a day of rest. But characteristically all classes put on their best clothes on Sunday. When the priest is there the more Catholic may attend mass in the *Templo Mayor*. Sometimes, the "new orchestra" may play in the little bandstand in the *plaza*. Such sophisticated refinements are promoted by the more city-wise minority—*los correctos*.

Like all the simpler peoples, whose food and whose occupations are directly dependent upon seasonal changes, the Tepoztecans are closely attentive to the

[1] There follows a list, not quite complete, of goods sold in the regular bi-weekly markets. Of course the limitation "in season" applies to many of the fruits: (1) Produced in Tepoztlán or the satellite villages: oranges; bananas; *chayotes; manzanillos* (*tejocotes*); limes; lemons (rare); avocados; plums; chirimoyas; mameys; sapotes (four or five kinds); tomatoes; husk tomatoes; sugar cane; *pitos;* acacia pods (*guajes*, N. *guaxi*); peanuts; tamarind beans; coffee; squash seeds; acacia seeds; beans (several kinds); maize; coriander; *manzanillo* jelly; clotted cream; honey; pine kindling; lime; eggs; medicinal herbs. (2) Produced outside the valley: potatoes, onions, and rarely other vegetables, from Cuernavaca; occasional vegetables, as beets, carrots, lettuce, rosemary, small squashes, from Xochimilco, Federal District; pottery from Cuernavaca, from Toluca, and from the state of Puebla; baskets from southern Morelos; leather thongs for sandals and fiber nets (*ayates*) from Cuautla; zarapes and mats, from Toluca and elsewhere; lima beans and such spices as *pimienta*, cloves, and cumin seed, from Mexico City; textiles and notions from Mexico City. Other supplies, and also some that are on these lists, are bought in the stores.

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the day of the *fiesta* they come to dance before the *santo*. They march up to the chapel and kneel before the altar. Then they dance and sing inside the chapel. They wear tall, plumed headdresses, embroidered with beads and small mirrors, pink or red blouses, short red skirts with bead and shell pendants, colored stockings, and sandals. Some are women; most are men, who wear long false hair. They dance to mandolins made of armadillo shell. Their leaders carry banners bearing the name of their organization and effigies of *santos*. After they have paid their respects to the *santo* in the church, they come outside and, forming a circle, begin to dance in the atrium. The step is varied from time to time, but the dancers keep their respective places in the circle. Occasionally they sing. The leader sings the verses, and all join in the chorus:

¡Ay! Jesús!
Solo Jesús
Quiso morir en la cruz.

The *cuadrillos* of *Apaches* from San Juan and from Santiago arrive together, accompanied by a band of musicians. They march into the church to kneel before the *santo*, before beginning to dance on the other side of the atrium. The dancing keeps up all morning.

While they are dancing the large candles to be burned before the *santo* are brought in a procession from the house of the *mayordomo* of the candles. Men carry them swung on poles. In front go women carrying baskets of flowers and braziers of burning copal

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tepach arrives from the *tierra fría*. The women of the *barrio* are up most of the night grinding, for the burden of hospitality is a heavy one, resting on so few households.

Sunday, January 24 (about).—The celebration of the *fiesta* of San Sebastian occurs on this day. People come from other *barrios* and other villages. There are some who come to sell candies and cakes. Women bring candles and flowers to the *santo*. *Los Apaches* of San Juan should come to dance.[1] In the afternoon a *castillo del día* is set off. Everyone in the *barrio* eats *mole verde* and *tamales*.

Monday, January 25 (about).—The *chirimía*, playing in San Sebastian, announces the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa* for that *fiesta*. In the afternoon there are *toros*. Los Reyes lends its *corral* and San Miguel its bulls; the same men take part, so that the *toros* of San Sebastian are a repetition of the *toros* of Los Reyes.

Tuesday, January 26 (about).—This is the second day of the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa*. In the afternoon a group of men gather at the chapel of San Sebastian. Some are masked with burlap and wear any bizarre rags; some are dressed as women; and some, *los Chinelos*, wear long satin gowns, huge hats, and bearded masks. When all are ready, the "old musicians" begin to play the air traditionally used for "leaping" (*brincar*) and the masked men begin to move toward the plaza, jumping up and down with the high, short, prancing step prescribed by custom.

[1] The year of this study they failed to fulfil their obligation.

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will buy up their neighbor's coffee and carry it to Cuernavaca for resale. Many men, having no other work and no savings, have gone to the sugar *haciendas* at Oacalco to work there as day laborers.[1] They do not take their women with them. Sometimes a woman cooks for them all in the camp at the *hacienda*. Sometimes they come back twice a week to Tepoztlán to fetch food prepared for them by their wives. Then twice a week the women spend hours by day and by night grinding on the *metate* to make them enough *tortillas* and *itacates* and *gorditas* to last them three days at Oacalco.

The entire village has its attention directed toward the coming carnival—the most important secular *fiesta* of the valley. Almost everyone in Tepoztlán has some share in it, while those who come to Tepoztlán from other villages come only as guests to enjoy the hospitality of Tepoztlán. The carnival is the supreme co-operative effort of the town. In February the men of San Miguel, La Santísima,[2] and Santo Domingo are organizing the *comparsas* for the masked dancers. Musicians must be hired from larger towns, and the cost of their hire is now apportioned among the members of the *comparsas*. These members, who will leap as *Chinelos* during the carnival, are busy sewing glass beads and mirrors on the huge, laterally flattened *sombreros* which they will wear. Their wives and mothers

[1] This exodus began the second half of December.

[2] The *comparsa* of La Santísima was first organized about three years ago; the other two groups are ancient.

[facing page 110]

CHINELOS LEAPING

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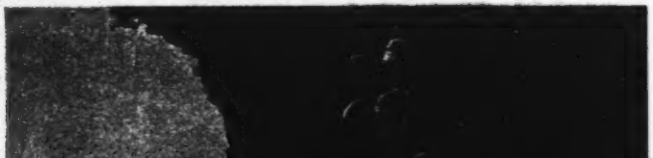

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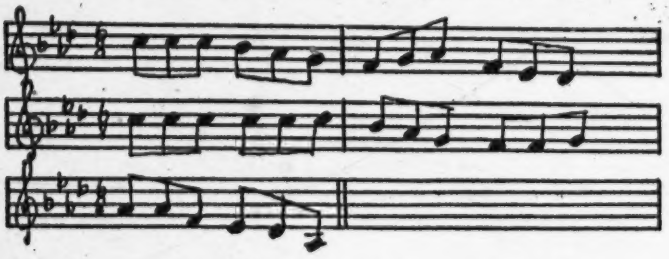
The *Chinelos*[1] leap down to the *plaza*. They leap around and around the *plaza*, occasionally emitting loud whoops. They wear long gowns of satin, blue or pink or yellow, with a square cape hanging from the shoulder. The color and the design of the embroidery vary, but each dancer wears the same long gown with a cape, the same staring mask with recurved black beard of horsehair, the same huge *sombrero*, beaded

and surmounted with an ostrich plume. Each wears gloves and carries a handkerchief filled with confetti.

Hour after hour the leaping continues. The bands take turns playing. At intervals dance music is played and the *Chinelos* dance together in couples. Hundreds of people sit or stand on the edges of the *plaza*, watching the spectacle. When dark comes, the gasoline lamps are lit and each vendor of cakes and drinks along the *plaza* lights a candle. The *Chinelos*, in many cases fortified with alcohol, continue to leap around and around the *plaza*. Men too poor to belong to *com-*

[1] This word is probably from *Chino*, "Chinese", "foreign." When used in speaking Nahuatl it is Mexicanized as *Zinelohque*. The word *Huehuenches* is also used—from the Nahuatl *Huehuetzitzin*, "the old ones" (said with respect). It is said by some in Tepoztlán that the *Chinelos* represent the Pharisees "who denied Christ."

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[297] *parsas*, men from the upper *barrios*, mask themselves in any rags they can obtain, and follow after the *Chinelos*, leaping too.

Later each night a dance is held in the schoolroom, and those men who know how dance with women friends and relatives from Cuernavaca or Mexico City.

March 7, 8, and 9 (about).—These three days form the *octava* of the carnival. They furnish three more afternoons of leaping, of band music, of ices and lemonades and *pozole*. The interest of the passive observers never flags, and each day at three o'clock the *Chinelos* begin again to whoop and leap down to the *plaza*.

March 14, 15, and 16 (about).—The following week-end the carnival is celebrated in Yautepec. Many [648] from Tepoztlán attend, including the *Chinelos* who still have appetite for more hours of *brincando* in their heavy satin garments.

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* [796] An ebb of interest and energy follows the carnival. The *fiesta* has drained money and strength. Before lie the quite different moods of Holy Week. The dry season is far advanced; dust is thick on the roads; the yards are burned yellow and stiff; the upper pastures on the slopes of the hills glow with low flame and heavy orange smoke night after night where the dry grass has been fired. People keep to themselves, wrapped by a mood of depression and discouragement.

[241] The agricultural cycle has reached its nadir. It is still too early to prepare the *milpas*. A few who have

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*796 San Pedro is too small to supply enough, but they are 535 instructed by a *maestro* in San Pedro. They wear em- 292 broidered skirts, silk neckerchiefs, and small paper crowns surmounted by a black ostrich-feather plume. They dance around a tall pole and in dancing interweave colored ribbons.[1] They do not sing.

*796 A *castillo del dia* is burned; everyone of the *barrio* 541 eats *mole verde* and *tamales*.

262 *April 30 and May 1.*—These days form the *castiyoh-* 794 *pa* and the *cerahpa* of the *fiesta* just passed.

May 2.—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of Santa 533 Cruz on this day.

May 3.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of Santa Cruz. It is not an important *fiesta*. There is a 541 *castillo de la noche* and of course the people of the 262 barrio eat *mole verde* and *tamales*.

778 This day is also the day on which crosses are raised at street corners, above water tanks, on conspicuous hills. The crosses are hung with flowers and copal is 333 burned before them. It is also the day specially de- 541 voted to the masons, who sometimes set off rockets to celebrate.[2]

132 The first of the rains have come now, occasional and 133 uncertain showers. Only at *Axihtla*, the cleft in the hills where arises the *barranca* of San Jeronimo, does fresh bright green appear, and in parts of the *barrio* of Santo Domingo, better watered than other regions.

[1] This "May Pole" is not necessarily European in origin. Sahagun refers to such a dance.

[2] The *fiesta* of the masons is generally celebrated in Mexico City.

[i.e. LOS DANZANTES of the fiesta of San Pedro - ANALYST]

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paper rosettes, wax flowers, and garlands of *chicaltzo*. People come into the church to light a candle at the altar and to hang a garland on it. Just outside the church under the *enramada* stand two rows of little girls, dressed in white with white crowns and bearing staffs adorned with bells and ribbons. They are *Las Pastoras*, and they strike their staffs on the flags and sing a traditional song of praise to El Señor de Ixcatepec.

In a wide circle at one side of the *enramada*, *Los Apaches* from San Juan and from Santiago dance to their armadillo-shell guitars. At intervals they sing a song to *La Guadalupana*. There is the rattle of a small drum and the high note of a metal flute. *Los Moros* from Santo Domingo enter the churchyard gate. They come doing their little skipping step, to suggest men on horseback. The five Moors, with their helmets, flounced skirts, and black goggles, and the four Christians, in plumed hats and short skirts, weave back and forth in a double row, clashing *machetes* as they come. On the other side of the *enramada* they perform the acted and spoken drama of the struggle between the Moors and the Christians. This takes about five hours. Crowds of people watch them, and other crowds watch *Los Apaches* and *Las Pastoras*.

The sacred entertainment takes place within the churchyard; the secular entertainment is going on outside. There are several ballad-singers, each with his guitar and his attentive audience. Other men are gambling, squatted around the board. There are rows

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IXCATEPEC: *LOS APACHES*

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August 4.—The *fiesta* of the village of Santo Domingo takes place on this date. *Los Moros* dance before their own *santo.*

August 5.—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of Santa Cruz.

August 6.—The *chirimía* continues to play in Santa Cruz; it is the *fiesta* of San Salvador, the patron saint of the *barrio.*

September 8 (about).—Today is *Altepe-ilhuitl* ("*fiesta* of the *pueblo*"), commemorative of El Tepozteco, the legendary eponymous king of the Tepoztecos in the days before the Conquest. Men enact the successful defense of the temple on the cliff against the seven attacking towns of the valley. In the late afternoon a tall wooden tower is built in the *plaza.* This represents the *teocalli.* On this climbs a man representing El Tepozteco and others taking the parts of his fighting men. They wear red-and-yellow tunics and feather headdresses. They beat drums and the *tepcnaztli.* Seven men, riding on seven *burros*, come to attack the *teocalli* and are driven off with arrows. El Tepozteco delivers a traditional defiance in Nahuatl, and the attackers reply with similar set speeches.[1]

September 28.—The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel of San Miguel, and the women of that *barrio* grind corn for the *tamales;* tomorrow is their *fiesta.*

September 29.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of San Miguel.

[1] See Carleton Beals' article in *Mexican Life.*

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*796 533 The boys gather at the house of the *maestro* who taught them. From there a sound of singing comes, and the jingling of bells. Up the rocky street appears [373] a light—many lights. Five or six globes of illumination shift and swing against the blackness. Some are stars, some are crescents. The singing grows louder. "Here come the stars of brilliant light, bearing the news that Jesus now is born."

[539]

Vienen las estrellas con brillante luz
Dando las noticias ya nació Jesús.

[292] Each boy wears a cloth bound over his head and hanging down the back. Each carries a staff of bells, and these staffs beat the measure of the music on the cobbles. The candles within the tissue-paper stars, [373] borne on poles, cast a faint illumination for their feet. Followed by a crowd of people, the globes of light pass slowly across the *plaza*, through the gate of the churchyard up to the door of the church. The church, for a year a place of silence, rings with sudden echoes. The singers move up to the altar, banging their staffs on the flags. The people following drop to their knees. Under the cross *Los Pastores* halt. They continue shouting the song, banging the staffs, until almost dawn.

December 31.—Tomorrow will be the *fiesta of* Santa María de Tepoztlán. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the Templo Mayor. The *cohetero* is completing the *796 *castillo* to be burned for the *fiesta*.
541 Some people discharge rockets at midnight to usher in the New Year.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

for there are employers and employees within the specialties. Thus, a part-time carpenter may employ two assistants during the busy season in his trade. In this connection it should be noted that the numbers of occupations shown in Table 19 refer to both artisans and their day laborers.

The changes in occupation and specialization can best be appreciated by a comparison of our data with that given by Redfield for 1926. A complete comparison is not always possible because some of the occupations in Tepoztlán are new and others, though mentioned by Redfield, were not given in numbers. Table 19 lists the occupations and numbers of persons employed in 1926 as compared with 1944. Also included are the number who belong to families with milpas in *ejido*, private holdings or *tlacolol*, to indicate those who have other sources of income. Finally, I have listed the number who work in their fields, in addition to their trade, to determine the degree of specialization.

An examination of Table 19 indicates at once the magnitude of the changes in occupations. Considering first only those occupations for which there is comparable data, we find that there has been an increase from 69 to 187 individuals who work in the various occupations. This represents an increase of 161 per cent as compared with a population increase during this period of approximately 45 per cent.[4] Comparing the number of individuals engaged in special occupations in 1926 with the number today, we find an increase from 69 to 273. This represents an increase of over 290 per cent.

The difference between these two figures is in a sense a measure of the degree of acculturation and the rise in the standard of living. The sharp rise in the number of storekeepers, teachers, butchers, bakers, and masons bears out this statement. In contrast to the small number of stores (five), which existed in Redfield's time, all of which were in the plaza, there are now twenty stores, ten in the plaza and ten distributed among the barrios. The spread of stores to the barrios reflects the general tendency in the village, whereby the outlying barrios are becoming incorporated into the life of the center.

The stores have not only increased in number; they also carry a much wider variety of goods than twenty years ago. Formerly one had to go to Yautepec or Cuernavaca to buy sombreros, cloth, or pants. Now these items and many others are available in the village. The increase in the number of bakers from six to twenty-four attests to the widespread use of bread as a supplement to the tortilla. (See Fig. 17.) Even the poorest family looks forward to eating rolls at least a few times during the week. The figures on the increase of shoemakers from two to five do not adequately reveal the increase in the number of individuals who own shoes. According to the census of 1940, more than three hundred wore shoes daily. However, shoes are given little wear and are used primarily on Sundays and days of fiesta.

[4] This estimate is conservative, for as has already been indicated, there must have been fewer than 69 individuals with special occupations in 1926.

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Fig. 41. Old-style clothing for men.

[178] The new type of dress existed among the wealthier and more citified Tepoztecans in the 1920's but has, during the past twenty years, spread among the rest of the population. For women, the new-style dress (Fig. 43) consists of a one-piece dress (*vestido*), a full-length slip (*combinación*), underdrawers, a long apron (*babero*), and perhaps shoes and stockings. Some of the younger women now use a brassière (*portabusto*), though these, as well as underdrawers, are often dispensed with after marriage. The *reboso* is also commonly worn, but sweaters, jackets, and even coats are now coming into use. Girls wear one-piece dresses, underdrawers, and occasionally an underslip. The dresses vary in length from below the calves up to the knees.

Modern male dress consists of ready-made pants, a collared and buttoned shirt, and a collared jacket. (See Fig. 44.) Huaraches, now usually made of rubber soles, are still commonly worn, but shoes are worn daily by some, and on holidays and on [292] trips to the city by many. The sombrero is sometimes replaced by a narrow-brimmed [177] felt hat, but only the most citified men in Tepoztlán wear neckties. Modern dress [369] for boys may be overalls or pants and a buttoned shirt. Occasionally a small boy may be seen in a blouse and short pants. Straw hats are universally worn by boys. The *gabán* and serape are now often replaced by a sweater or jacket, and many boys wear shoes.

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291 855 of acculturation of the family, barrio residence, and, to a greater degree than among adults, upon the family's economic status. Other factors affecting children's dress are school attendance and favoritism at home.

291 855 858 The younger a child is, the less effort and money is expended on his clothing and the less significance his clothing has in revealing economic status. In most families, pre-school children are not as well dressed as children who go to school. The only exception to this is the young favorite child of a better-to-do family. A favorite son may be given a little *gabán* as early as three years of age, but most boys do not receive *gabanes* until they begin to go out into the fields. A favorite girl may be given a little *rebozo* as soon as she asks for one, but generally girls receive a *rebozo* at about eight or nine. In very poor families a girl might not be given a *rebozo* until eleven or thereabouts. A favorite girl may receive a pair of gold earrings or a pair of holiday shoes at the age of two or three. Most girls do not receive these before [556] they are fifteen; boys are given huaraches when they begin to work in the fields. Sweaters are worn by children of better-to-do families only.

291 855 [872] [178] Parents tend to keep their school children's clothing cleaner and in better repair. Many also make some attempt to keep children dressed in the prevailing styles for their age group. This usually means shorter, better-fitting dresses for the girls, jackets and ready-made pants for boys. (See Fig. 47.) There is also a definite trend among families with enough means to buy children's shoes for special events and school fiestas. The school now places some pressure upon parents to provide shoes for their children by forbidding the latter to join public school parades if they are barefoot. Differences in the clothing of the children of the rich and poor and of the [554] more conservative and acculturated are becoming more marked and school children are becoming aware of the social distinctions involved. Their responses to the thematic apperception cards show school children to be particularly sensitive to clothing and to make appearance a significant aspect of their stories.

291 511 The quantity of clothing owned varies considerably from individual to individual. Even within the same family there is some variation. In general, youths and adolescent girls have the most and finest clothing, and the very young and very old have the least. In the poorest families each member may have only one dress or suit of clothing, but this is not common in Tepoztlán. Most women have at least two cot- [292] ton dresses for daily wear and one rayon dress for fiestas; most men own at least four shirts, four *calzones*, and one or two pairs of huaraches. The children of the [735] poor tend to have less than this minimum and frequently do not have special clothing for fiestas. In contrast, the middle and upper economic groups have many clothes, and among a few families there is evidence of extravagance in dress.

DIVERSION

796 [527] [517] Fiestas, both religious and secular, continue to be the main source of diversion for all groups in Tepoztlán. Every year the church calendar provides at least sixty-two important fiestas for Tepoztecans to celebrate, either as participants or observers. Not a month passes without a fiesta, and in some months there are five.

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sequence of a national campaign by the Minister of Education. Baseball, soccer, basketball, and volleyball were taught by the school and had immediate appeal among the youth. From the first, soccer was most popular. In 1929 a sports club of 22 soccer players, all from the three center barrios, was organized. The popularity of the game developed slowly until 1930, when the number of enthusiasts increased sharply because of the efforts of a new school director. Between 1934 and 1936, at the time that the road was being built, there were as many as 15 soccer teams. Even the religious barrio of Santa Cruz had its team. This enthusiasm lasted for about three years. In 1939 no soccer team existed and the interest in the sport lapsed for a few years.

There are now five teams, four in the large, center barrios and one in the small barrio of Los Reyes. The teams play against each other with the traditional barrio spirit of competition. They also play against teams from Cuernavaca and other nearby towns. There is no athletic field in the village, and the center teams play in the large yard of the Cathedral while the Los Reyes team rents a field. The scarcity of level land makes it impossible to use any of the communal land, and the young men are thinking of buying a plot of land for an athletic field. The only equipment bought by the team is the ball. About half of the players own special soccer shoes; the other half play barefoot or in huaraches.[14]

The teams usually play to an audience of small boys. Adults are disinterested in games or actively disapprove of them, and parents do not permit their daughters to attend. When teams from other villages play, only a few girls from the center barrios come to watch. The skill and triumphs of the players are appreciated by a handful of people; there are no fans and there is no community spirit in connection with this sport.

In 1947, when a Cultural Mission was in Tepoztlán, there was an attempt made to stimulate wider interest in games by organizing an inter village competition and appointing committees of *madrinas* or godmothers for each team. The *madrinas* came dressed in white and bearing flowers for each team, but the audiences remained as small as ever.

The advantages of the cooperative action involved in team playing, and the unifying effect of a strong common interest, are experienced only by the actual members of the teams. Small as this group is, their experience in cooperation is of some significance in so highly individualistic a village as Tepoztlán.

Recreational activities in Tepoztlán were further diversified with the opening of a billiard room in 1935. This was another point of conflict between the older people and the younger men of the village. The poolroom was quickly characterized as a breeding place of drunkenness and bad habits. But despite their objections, pool became popular among the boys of all the barrios. When boys began to stay out of school to play, parents forced the local administration to ban poolrooms from admitting boys under eighteen years of age. There are now two poolrooms, one with

[14] A professional soccer player from Mexico City admired the skill of young Tepoztecans in kicking the hard ball with their bare toes.

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771 learn to attend Mass, to confess, and to take communion more often than is customary in the village.

788 Prayers for various occasions are memorized by Tepoztecans. The older generation learn them in Náhuatl, the younger in Spanish. The people do not know how [782] to improvise prayers, and when their memory fails they prefer to keep silent, or merely cross themselves, or kiss a scapulary to invoke the protection of the appropriate saint. The obligatory morning prayers are seldom said with regularity. Some of the old people still say a prayer at noon when the bell of the municipal clock strikes; the men remove their hats and give thanks to God because they still have strength to work. When the evening church bell rings, the men are again supposed to take off their hats and the women to kneel to give thanks because the day has passed without mishap. We cannot estimate the number of people who fulfill the latter obligation, but in all the time we were in the village we never observed anyone kneeling in prayer outside the church. But men returning home from the fields lift their hats respectfully whenever they pass a cross, and on the bus from Tepoztlán to Cuernavaca all hats go up in unison each time a church is passed. [782] Some Tepoztecans recite prayers on special occasions, such as planting corn, lighting a charcoal furnace, or pruning a tree.

794 As indicated earlier, most Tepoztecans do not feel strongly the need to attend 796 Mass every Sunday or even on holy days. On the basis of our own observations and informants' estimates, it appears that, on the average, about two hundred, mostly women, attend church on Sundays. The 6:00 A.M. Mass is preferred; those who attend the 8:00 A.M. Mass risk being called lazy. Mass, like other public gath- [883] erings, is a welcome form of diversion. It is one of the opportunities for sweethearts to see one another; young people are said to attend not out of devotion but to flirt. [292] Everyone puts on his best clothes for Mass. The older men wear huaraches, white *calzones*, and shirts; the youths wear trousers and modern shirts, and many wear jackets. The women use *rebozos* to cover their heads. Upon entering the church, [788] the women cross themselves with holy water and take seats up toward the front. The men generally do not cross themselves and remain in the rear. Some of the youths stand at one side of the nave, leaning against the pillars so as to be able to see the girls during the service. The children sit with their mothers and sisters. Five- and ten-centavo pieces are dropped into the plate passed by the sacristan.

After Mass the young men are the first to leave. They remain at the church door, talking, joking, and laughing quietly among themselves, until the girls appear. The [273] older men are the next to leave the church, and then the women. Most of the men go off to drink, while the women go home in little groups of relatives.

527 Tepoztecans do not rigorously observe Sunday or other holy days as days of 796 rest. During planting and harvesting, everyone works in the fields, and the storekeepers in the center who profit by the week-end tourist trade always work on Sundays and holidays. Informants say, "It is no sin to work on Sunday when it is done out of necessity." Some of the very old people believe that he who works on Sunday ruins himself economically for the rest of the week.

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The *sacamisa* is supposed to occur forty days after the baptism. It frequently takes place a week or two later because the godparents may not keep track of the time, or one of the families involved may lack the necessary funds for the ceremony. When the godparents are ready, they appear at the house of their godchild with a tray containing the baptismal clothes, a white silk gown, a set of underclothes, a long robe, a hat, a pair of socks, and perhaps a pair of shoes. Sometimes these clothes are not presented until the child is in church, where he is then dressed.

The next day at 5:00 A.M., the parents, parents-in-law, and godparents meet at the church. The child is carried by the father or grandmother since the mother is considered too weak. The priest prays over the mother and child and throws holy water on them. During the Mass the mother is seated and holds the child in one arm and a candle in her other hand. When the party leaves the church, each goes home without taking any more formal leave of one another than saying "hasta luego." At noon the godparents are visited by their *compadres* and some relatives of the latter, who bring a gift of *mole* with turkey, rice, macaroni, beans, a bottle of wine, and a package of cigarettes. They leave the gift and return home. Later in the afternoon, if the godparents wish, they may bring musicians and friends to their *compadres'* house for a celebration. The *compadres* are obliged to serve food and drinks to all who come, and the dancing which follows may continue until about 8:00 P.M. This celebration involves considerable expense, and most families are able to fulfill only a minimum of the obligations.

It is said that a boy who is not taken to *sacamisa* will be refused when he asks for the hand of a girl in marriage, and that a girl who is not taken to *sacamisa* will elope. Some of the younger women who leave their homes before the forty day period of rest forfeit the right to *sacamisa*. In one case, an educated woman who no longer observed the forty-day period received a tray of clothing from her child's godmother at the time of *sacamisa* and was forced to refuse the gift. She returned it with a suitable gift of her own to placate the godmother. The baby's mother, in telling the story, added that the godmother knew very well that there would be no *sacamisa* and sent the clothing just to cause embarrassment.

Each child in Tepoztlán has godparents of baptism to insure a guardian for him in case of the death of either of the parents. It is the obligation of the godparents to inquire periodically about the welfare of their godchild and to see that the child is sent to school. Very few godparents in Tepoztlán take a more active interest in their godchildren. The godparents may not refuse to take in their orphaned god children, but many take them only temporarily until other arrangements can be made for them. Most orphaned children are cared for by relatives rather than godparents. There are stories of godparents abusing and exploiting their godchildren, as well as stories of kind and affectionate treatment.

The naming of children follows the Catholic custom of selecting a name from the list of saints' names on the day of birth. A *sobrenombre*, or an additional name, is selected either from the saints' list on the day of baptism or at will, depending upon the desire of the father or the godparents. The *sobrenombre* is the name by

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bring legal charges against the boy and try to get the girl home. If they are adamant and threatening, the boy may, in revenge, refuse to marry the girl and send her home where she will be severely beaten. 583

Raptos have existed as far back as informants can remember, but there is evidence that the number have increased considerably since the Revolution. During 1942 and 1943, approximately fifty per cent of all marriages began as elopements. This is symptomatic of the breakdown of parental authority and the increasing independence of young people. In the majority of cases after elopement, the respective *padrinos* of the boy and girl will intercede and bring pressure upon the couple to marry. Most elopements end in marriage. Of the thirty elopements in the village during 1942 and 1943 all but three ended in marriage. In these three cases the girls were orphans, with no one to intercede in their behalf. [178]

IN THE CHURCH

To be well married in Tepoztlán is to be married in church. Because civil marriage is now compulsory by law, most couples marry by both laws. Approximately 75 per cent of 133 marriages in the village between 1941 and 1946 were by both laws. 585

On the day the couple obtain their civil marriage certificate,[4] they appear before the priest with two character witnesses for the *presentación*. The priest writes down the name, age, and civil status of the boy and the girl and then begins to question each of the character witnesses. He asks the boy's witness if the boy has other *noviat*, or other commitments, or whether he has children with another woman. Then the girl's witnesses are asked similar questions. The priest then turns to the boy and girl and asks each in turn whether they want to marry of their own free will, or whether they are being forced to marry. On the following three Sundays the priest reads the marriage banns in the church and if there are no protests, the couple are married on the fourth Sunday. Because of the Tepoztecan sense of shame and reticence to publicize private affairs, protests during the time of the reading of the banns are rare, even when some jilted lover or an unwed mother may have good cause.

On the evening before the wedding, the boy's parents traditionally send a basket of bread, chocolate, some bottles of wine, and a turkey prepared with the necessary condiments to the home of the girl. They also send along the wedding dress, with its accessories, shoes, stockings, and flowers. That evening the girl is taken to the home of the godparents of marriage, where she spends the night. The godparents give her marital advice at this time, and again the emphasis is upon her need to obey and conform to all of her husband's wishes. [608]

In the early morning the godmother helps the girl wash and dress. Church weddings require the bride to be dressed in a white dress, shoes, and stockings. A dress with a train, *la cola*, and a veil is desirable. (See Fig. 62.) Widows who [292]

[4] For a discussion of civil marriage, see Chapter 3, "Status Distinctions and Family Organization," p. 73.

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remarry, or girls who have eloped and are pregnant at the time of marriage, wear a colored dress. The man may be married in simple *calzones* and huaraches and straw sombrero or in dark woolen store pants, poplin shirt, a cream colored linen jacket, fancy leather boots, and a felt hat, depending upon his resources. The man may wear his wedding clothes on later occasions but the woman's dress and veil

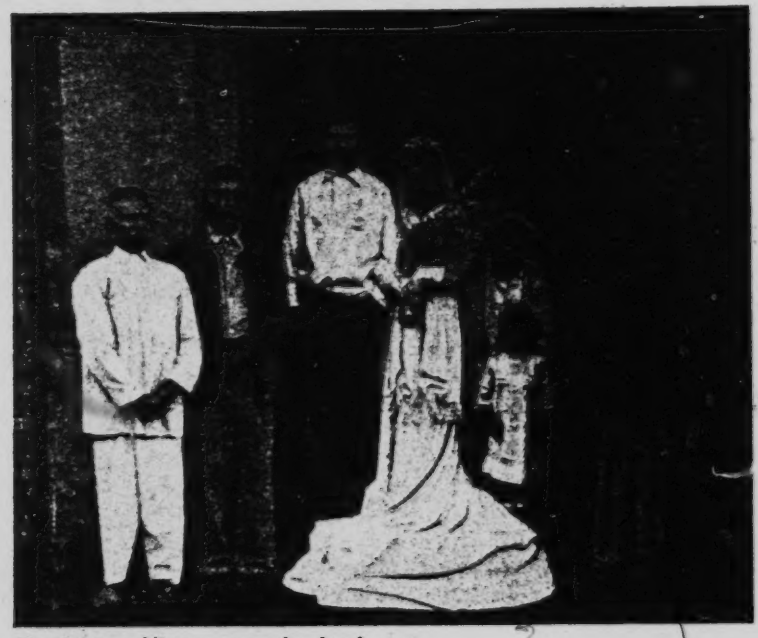

Fig. 62. A wedding party on the church steps.

are carefully put away and guarded throughout life. Many women are buried in their wedding dress, but others cut the dress short and wear it at fiestas.

The marriage vows, the placing of the ring, and the giving of the thirteen coins (*arrastomines*) take place at the church door. Most church weddings are held early Sunday morning. Traditionally, the godfather accompanies the bride to the church door where she is "delivered" to the groom. In some recent weddings the girl no longer sleeps at the godfather's house and instead is accompanied to the church by her own father and meets the groom and godfather at the church door. The ceremony of the wedding follows the traditional Catholic ritual. The ring is generally put on at the church door, and then the couple enter for the Mass.[5]

[5] Some writers have called marriage at the church door a Spanish custom. It is interesting to note that this custom is found in Chaucer in fourteenth-century England; see John M. Manly, *Canterbury Tales by Geoffrey Chaucer* (New York: Henry Holt, 1928), p. 279.

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D. *FIESTA CALENDAR OF TEPOZTLÁN*

796 Jan. 1. *Fiesta de Divina Providencia,*[1] celebrated in the central parish church: Candles burn in church all night. Members of the Adoración Nocturna keep vigil all night, and confess, and take communion at midnight Mass. Most Tepoztecans attend church on
[782] January 1 to petition (*las tres monedas*) the Divine Providence for food, clothing, and
[264] shelter for the year. A coin is dropped into the church box for each of the petitions. *Molé* and tamales with pork are eaten by many families; poor families eat tamales made with
[795] squash flowers. It is becoming customary for the younger generation to present parents
[431] with a small gift on this day.

Jan. 6. *Fiesta of "The Kings,"* celebrated in Los Reyes: The secular aspects of this fiesta consist of the burning of *"toros"* and a *jaripeo*. This is not an important fiesta but popular with the children because they may receive gifts from their parents. This custom was introduced by the Colonia Tepozteca of Mexico City who used to distribute gifts to the poor children of the village.

Jan. 12. *Fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe,* celebrated in Santo Domingo: One of the two fiestas of this barrio. It was originally a secondary fiesta honoring the Virgin one month after her Saint Day, but has recently become rather elaborate and costly. The residents of the barrio have boasted that they have enough money to give two fine fiestas and to do fitting honor to the *Virgencita*. There is music and fireworks all the morning of January eleventh. On the twelfth and thirteenth, there is a *jaripeo* and a *torito*.

Following Sunday. *Fiesta of the Virgin of Guadalupe,* celebrated in Gabriel Mariaca: This village is obliged to postpone its festivities because they conflict with the barrio of Santo Domingo. Many Tepoztecans attend this fiesta.

Jan. 20. *Fiesta of San Sebastián,* celebrated in San Sebastián and La Calera: In this case the village of La Calera refuses to postpone its fiesta, so both are given the same day. The
[535] only unusual feature of this barrio fiesta is the *brinco* or dance by the *tiznados* or black-faced dancers. There are usually some fireworks and musicians.

Feb. 2. *Fiesta of the Candlemas,* celebrated in the parish church and at some domestic
[264] altars: The raising the child Jesus for the *sacamisa*. A few families set off fireworks, hire musicians, and serve *molé*, chocolate, and cakes to the ceremonial godparents.

527 Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday preceding Lent.[2] *Fiesta of the Carnaval,* celebrated in the plaza of Tepoztlán: The church is open, but almost no one attends, as the fiesta is now largely secular. This is the most splendid fiesta in Tepoztlán and attracts visitors from far and near. Buses run every half hour on these days, and the local merchants do brisk business. It is estimated that 45,000 pesos were spent by villagers on the Carnaval of 1946. Most of the expenses are incurred in the purchase of new *chinelos* costumes by those who dance, in the buying of new clothing by almost everyone, in drinking and good eating,
[535] and in payment of the many bands of musicians who take turns playing. The three large barrios organize *comparsas*, groups of *chinelos* dancers, and compete with each other in the size of the group, elegance of costumes, and endurance in dancing. Most Tepoztecan
[292] youths aspire to dance at the Carnaval, and work hard to earn money to buy or rent a costume. The costumes have become more costly and elaborate with each passing year.

[1] Our informants did not agree with those of Redfield, who designated this day as the fiesta of *Santa María de Tepoztlán*.

[2] Redfield reported six days of festivities for the Carnaval. During our stay, there were only three fiesta days.

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They are made of heavy satin and velvet and trimmings of glass beads, tiny mirrors, sequins, and gold fringe. Some men go to distant cities to purchase the finest materials. The huge hats are also more elaborate, and many are lighted by electric light bulbs placed in the brim and worked by concealed batteries. The cost of a complete *chinelo* outfit was between 100 and 300 pesos in 1944. By 1947, the cost had risen to over 600 pesos. An interesting aspect of the Carnaval is that the masked participants frequently ridicule and caricature popular figures in the village, much to their discomfiture.

Fiesta of Ash Wednesday, celebrated in the parish church: Initiates Lent and brings with it obligations to fast, pray, light candles at the altar, pay *limosnas*, etc. Most Tepoztecans go to church to "take the ash." They believe that the cross made on their foreheads by the priest protects them against sorcery and evil acts of enemies. This belief is strengthened by the fact that the ashes used are those from the burning of old images of holy figures. It is customary for Tepoztecans to bring old images to the sexton to be burned. When Lent begins, the images in the central church and in the chapels are ceremonially covered with purple cloths by men who have inherited the honor from their fathers.

Fiesta of First Friday of Lent, celebrated in Chalma and Jiutepec: Two *mayordomos* in Tepoztlán organize pilgrimages to these holy centers. Each *mayordomo* has a banner with images of the Santo Señor de Chalma and the Santo Cristo of Jiutepec. The pilgrimage to Chalma includes the *pastores*, children who will sing to the image. The group going to Jiutepec includes dancers.

Fiesta of Second Friday of Lent, celebrated in Cuautla: Only a few Tepoztecans attend this fiesta.

Fiesta of Third Friday of Lent, celebrated in Tepalzingo: Because of the fair held at Tepalzingo, many Tepoztecans go, particularly those who wish to buy or sell. *Curanderos* go to purchase herbs from other localities and to sell Tepoztecan herbs; the ropemakers of San Sebastián go to sell ropes. Local merchants go to buy *rebozos*, painted gourds, and curiosities.

Fiesta of Fourth Friday of Lent, celebrated in Tlayacapan: In homage of the *Virgen de Tránsito*. According to Tepoztecan legend, this image once belonged to Tepoztlán, but in 1770 it was taken to Tlayacapan to be repainted. On the way back the men who carried it became tired and set it down. When they were ready to go on they found the image had become too heavy to lift. This was interpreted to mean that the image wished a temple to be built for her there, and that is why she remained in Tlayacapan. It is believed that the image promised Tepoztlán water so long as Tepoztecans made pilgrimages to Tlayacapan. Thus, it is the custom of many Tepoztecan families to attend this fiesta.

Fiesta of the Sunday after Fourth Friday of Lent, celebrated in Ocotitlán: Only those with *compadres* or friends in Ocotitlán attend this fiesta.

Fiesta of Fifth Friday of Lent, celebrated in Mazatepec and Totolapan: Both towns have important fairs on this occasion. Pilgrimages to Totolapan are organized by the *mayordomía* of Gabriel Mariaca, and to Mazatepec by the *mayordomía* of the barrio of Santa Cruz. Those who go generally take many flowers to sell, especially the *yoloxochitl* (heart flower), and buy in return *petates*, *rebozos*, dried squash gourds, tamarind, and several types of dried seed.

March 19. *Fiesta of San José*, celebrated in Santa Cruz: The large image of San José is housed in the barrio chapel along with other saints. Since the devotees of this image have been steadily increasing, there is talk of building a separate chapel for the image.